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595 have to build another to hold them; blackbird's wives in one,
[787] mocking-bird's in the other. When he saw this in a dream he acquired two or three wives.[a]

When he married the first time, he brought his wife to his home. Later at a dance or a meeting, he might decide to speak to another. When the girl's parents discovered this, they might make her marry him. When he married a third time, they might think the third wife should stay at her own home, where he joined her. A man might keep all his wives in a single house, or they might remain with their parents. But he did not build a separate residence for each.

Plural marriages were sometimes with sisters, but not often. In response to specific questions concerning Navaho and Miwok types of marriage, I was told that a man sometimes married a woman and her adult daughter by another marriage, or a woman and her brother's daughter, but that neither was a regular form of marriage. There was no set preference for marrying wives related to each other, but there was some feeling that sisters would get along together better than non-relatives. Polyandry was unknown.

192 The following words describe the married state: matâtcu'ig, married; sin,âŏ'kʌðau'g, having a wife; taxavl'g, having two wives (from ɣavi'k, two); sin,âŏ'kĭcᵘðə', plural wives (i.e. more than two).

586 Separation and divorce may have been fairly frequent. In-
606 compatibility, infidelity, and barrenness were named as causes.
593 They held that ordinarily a bride could get on with her husband's family if she remembered what she had been taught by her parents: to be industrious, to avoid quarrels and to be unselfish. If a man beat his wife, her parents would have nothing to say: she belonged to him. Even if he wanted to kill her, he could do as he pleased. This sounds much like Moslem despotism and theoretically it was, but actually, it seems, no man would have thought of unrestrained tyranny. The reaction to a wife's infidelity belies the theory.

593 If a man found his wife in adultery, he would say calmly
837

[a] See the tale, p. 405.

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enough, "Perhaps she wants something to eat or wear that I can not give her," and let her go to her lover. He made no attempt to harm either of them. But he would never have anything to do with her thereafter. 593 837 [584]

X left his first wife, who took her infant son with her when she married a Kohuana. The Kohuana could not have been more fond of the boy had he been his own son. For instance, when the lad was returning from a visit to the Mohave, he injured his foot badly. His companions who came ahead reported that he might die of thirst in the desert. The Kohuana step-father immediately rode out to fetch him. X would have nothing to do with his ex-wife. He always drove the lad away with a stick and extended this unkindness to his son's children. People now ask why those children care for X, now that he is old, since he treated them so badly, but they reply simply that he is their relative and needs their help. 593

Women fought to retain the affections of unfaithful husbands. If a man was repeatedly remiss, his wife would give him up to her rival. If she left him for this reason, he might try to persuade her to return but she would refuse. She went to her relatives to live, because her husband was bringing a new wife to his home. However, if they had children, the wife would stay with her children. If nevertheless she decided to marry again, she told no one, not even the children, whom she abandoned there. Such abandonment is confirmed by an incident related below. 586 [837] 587

Ordinarily a barren wife was divorced. It was a common saying that a home was incomplete without children. Occasionally the wife might be kept if she was good-natured and industrious, and an additional wife might be taken. Both sexes were known to be impotent: they were called yĕsa'a'n. 586 [833]

Much the same attitude was displayed to a wife who bore girls. Girl babies were not wanted: they always said a girl was an enemy, because she might some day be married to an enemy and tell how to attack her own people. If the wife of a first marriage bore a girl first, her husband discarded her; but if she bore a boy, his people praised her. 842 586

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman bore no children, so her husband sent her away. She married another man—it was his first marriage—and bore him a girl. His family made him put her away and take another wife. The woman said it was not right to raise a girl who had no father, implying it was no better than a bastard. It ought to be killed; so she threw the baby into the river. [847]